The University of Chicago

ROUND TABLE

A RADIO DISCUSSION OF

THE ARCHBISHOPS LOOK AT AMERICA

G. A. BORGESE · HERBERT HEATON · J. G. KERWIN

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ROUND TABLE

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NOTE

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THE ARCHBISHOPS LOOK AT AMERICA*

A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE BROADCAST

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Jerome G. Kerwin, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago.

* A radio discussion broadcast from the University of Chicago over the Red Network of the National Broadcasting Company, Sunday, April 7, 1940, at 1:30 P.M., Central Standard Time.

The Round Table, oldest educational program continuously on the air, is broadcast entirely without a script. Subjects are chosen because of their social, political, or economic significance. The program has no "ax to grind." In the selection of speakers, the effort is to provide a balanced discussion by participants who have special competence and knowledge. The opinion of each speaker is his own and in no way involves the responsibility of either the University of Chicago or the National Broadcasting Company.

THE ARCHBISHOPS LOOK AT AMERICA

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In February of this year the Archbishops and Bishops of the Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference issued a statement entitled "The Church and Social Order," outlining a program for the future conduct of the American economy. The ROUND TABLE *presents the first broadcast discussion of this document, under the title: "The Archbishops Look at America."*

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The report of the Catholic Bishops states that God has given men a Divine Right to hold and to own property, but that there is no absolute or unlimited ownership, for there are responsibilities as well as privileges for property. This means the government must regulate property so that the burden of providing for the common good is equitably distributed.

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MR. HEATON: That is the statement of the Catholic Bishops. How does it appeal to you, Borgese?

MR. BORGESE: I am a free lancer in Christianity; in economics I am a layman; as a general observer, as an average citizen, I contemplate the situation of America and of the world at large today as very dangerous. Whatever proposal of remedies comes from any side, especially a side that is so high and so powerful as the Catholic Church, must be observed and examined with deep interest and impartiality. But I would like to know what you, Kerwin, a Catholic and a political scientist, or you, Heaton, an economist, would have to say, and to have explained to me more clearly what is the import or intention of this document.

MR. HEATON: It is an extremely interesting document. I find it very moderate; it contains nothing explosive; nothing particularly revolutionary; and, apparently, on property the Catholic Bishops accept our existing system of private property and private enterprise, but they do not accept it free and unfettered. For instance, suppose I am a businessman, and I read this statement that property must be held in trusteeship, that I must shoulder a social responsibility, what exactly am I to understand by it?

MR. KERWIN: I think that, in connection with this statement, you must remember—as an employer, as a businessman—that the Bishops are writing in a certain social setting, a certain economic order. They find that the *individual* idea of property is overemphasized. Therefore, they write of the social responsibility of business which has been forgotten so often in past years in America.

MR. HEATON: I see.

MR. BORGESE: Pope Pius XI was very much concerned. He was worried about the false interpretations that could be given to the encyclical of Leo XIII, which is fundamental in this matter as a document stating the rights of property and of ownership.[1] I feel the same concern and I would like to be informed about that. The accent seems to me—and to many other people—to repose on ownership.

MR. HEATON: I suppose the point behind this document is that there are other possible forms of owning property. There is the notion of communal or social ownership, and the Church comes down in favor of private ownership but stresses the obligations of the private owner. That, I assume, is the essential point of this whole section.

MR. KERWIN: Yes, that is true. You understand that the

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[1] *The encyclical "Rerum Novarum" was issued in 1891 by Leo XIII (Pope from 1878 to 1903).*

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Church takes the point of view that private ownership is natural to man; that he must have property.

MR. BORGESE: Not only that, but it is God-ordained; it is sanctified. It is the word "sanctity" that strikes me as a little too strong. I don't think the word "sanctity" about private property can be read in the Gospel.

MR. KERWIN: Just a moment! May I interpret a point of Catholic philosophy for Borgese? Whatever is natural to man is sanctified. The natural law is not contrary to the Divine law.

MR. HEATON: But at least the Bishops take it as a fact that we live in a society in which private property and private enterprise are the characteristic outstanding elements.

MR. BORGESE: It is explained by the phrase that the father of a family cannot support himself, provide for his own needs and the needs of the family, unless he has a limited property. And the layman might ask: "What is the system proposed by the Bishops in order to make of every man an owner?"

MR. KERWIN: They might reply that they are not specifying meets and bounds here—exactly how much a person must have. There are many economic studies that help us on that. The Bishops are laying down broad generalized principles here, of course, you must understand.[2]

MR. HEATON: Yes, but in actual practice isn't it also a fact that property is not concentrated in actual physical ownership; it has become concentrated in great heaps for the carrying on of large industries and public utilities and other forms of enterprise? There-

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[2] *On this point the statement of the Bishops reads: "Social stability rests upon . . . . individual ownership of property," and, in the section on wages, indicates the concern of the Bishops that wage and price levels be stabilized, since "The single man benefits more from a wage increase than a family man if the end result is an increase in prices."*

fore, those who control those great aggregations of property must shoulder certain responsibilities to their employees and toward society at large.[3]

MR. KERWIN: Yes, because of the impersonal nature of the ownership today the worker is simply a cog in a great machine. Even the stockholder does not know much about the inside of his organization.

MR. BORGESE: This tendency is excellent and it is one of those which compel us to accept this proposal of closer collaboration for a better social order with greatest attention and even with gratitude, although I must say that we had so many proposals of the same kind during the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century that a better specification of the ways to reach these purposes should be desirable.

MR. HEATON: That brings me to a point that I felt so much in reading this statement of the Catholic Bishops. What they say about property, when all is said and done, isn't at all revolutionary. It has been said many times, and we have gone beyond saying it. Surely every government in the world does impose upon the owners of property important obligations, important restrictions.

MR. KERWIN: While the statement has been made many, many times, while we have it in print from various sources—religious and otherwise—still it is not observed, as we note by judicial decisions in this country and by actual practices. I should like to call your attention, if I may, to the time when we tried to introduce planning and zoning in our cities and impose social responsibility

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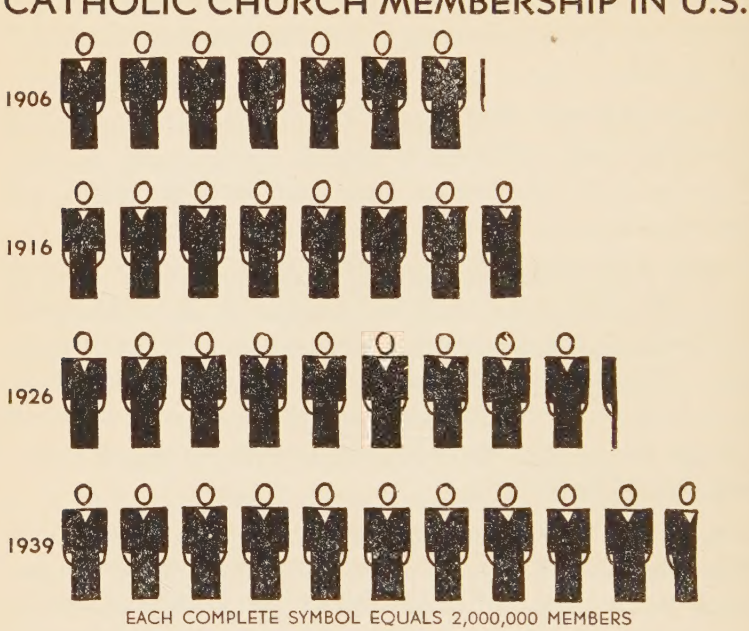
[3] *One of the great dangers today, the Bishops state, lies in ". . . . the concentration of ownership and control of wealth and its anonymous character which results from some of the existing business and corporation law, whereby responsibility toward society is greatly impaired if not completely ignored."*



upon owners of property. The courts did not take it well and it is only within the last ten or fifteen years that they even accepted it.

MR. BORGESE: That, however, could have been disapproved by Ruskin in 1862, or by Henry George in the late 1870's, or by Niebuhr a few years ago, or by Veblen in all his work. So that does not specify what is the particular point of this statement.[4]

MR. KERWIN: I am very glad that they opposed it. They are in tune with the Catholic Church.

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[4] *John Ruskin (1819–1900), famous British author and social reformer of the 19th century; Henry George (1839–1897), noted advocate of the single tax on land; Reinhold Niebuhr, contemporary Protestant philosopher and critic; and Thorstein Veblen (1857–1929), economist and author of "The Theory of the Leisure Class" and other works.*

MR. HEATON: The result is, I suppose, really that now, in 1940, the Bishops are saying nothing that could be regarded as really heretical or contrary to the generally accepted opinion of most groups of people. Employers, manufacturers, politicians, any group, I think, would agree with what the Bishops say on this particular point.

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The second part of this discussion concerns the statement of the Catholic Bishops on labor. A living wage for workers is even more important than the claim of owners to profits. Labor must have a voice in the regulation and adjustments of conditions affecting labor. The impersonal relationships of modern industry do not mean that man is a mere chattel nor his labor a commodity. But there can be no justification for the use of violence against persons or property as an attempt to find a remedy for differences between capital and labor. Rather, first, there must be adequate organization of employers and employees in their own associations and in joint action; secondly, in adequate regulation by the government through proper legislative enactment.

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MR. HEATON: Now there again I don't feel that we are dealing with a revolutionary document—something that has never been heard before. Surely much that is said there by the Bishops is now accepted.

MR. BORGESE: But it is high praise. We should be delivered at last from this obsession of revolutions—as if revolutions could give happiness to man. From that point of view I accept the tendencies of the document. But as to what concerns the owners we may agree that the intentions are good and that there is the danger of interpreting some passages in much too favorable a light for ownership. Also in what concerns labor, I think the proposals are well meaning but vague.

MR. KERWIN: I wish I were as optimistic as you are, Heaton, on this matter of collective bargaining, for instance, being accepted,

and a living wage.[5] Bishop O'Hara was telling me a day or so ago—and you remember he was one of the authors of this document[6]—that in mentioning this to a prominent Catholic—who was both an owner of a great deal of property and a big executive in one of our industries—that particular person thought this document very revolutionary. He thought it was leading to socialism, without doubt, particularly on the points regarding minimum wages and the labor unions and collective bargaining.

MR. BORGESE: Well, if a lone "economic royalist" disapproves of this document it is no good evidence that the document is good, as the fact that Father Coughlin likes or dislikes this document is no evidence that the document is bad.

MR. KERWIN: The question is *not* whether the document is good. The question is whether this is accepted by the "economic royalists" or by large numbers of employers in the country. And as far as Father Coughlin is concerned, time does not permit my commenting on Father Coughlin's interpretation of this document, or other documents he has interpreted.

MR. BORGESE: But you do not know the interpretation of the "economic royalists" because we do not have their reactions.

MR. KERWIN: We have their actions.

MR. BORGESE: But all this is marginal. Action is proof certainly that society is far from being good. We are agreed on that. We feel distressed about the present plight and we say any cooperation—especially coming from a religious center—is welcome. But we cannot say that the economic and political thought at large today disagrees with the intentions of the middle road.

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[5] *Of collective bargaining, the Bishops write: "Labor can have no effective voice as long as it is unorganized. To protect its rights it must be free to bargain collectively through its own chosen representatives."*

[6] *Edwin V. O'Hara, Bishop of Kansas City.*

NUMBER OF CATHOLIC CHURCHES (U.S.)

EACH COMPLETE SYMBOL EQUALS 2,000 CHURCHES

MR. HEATON: No. This would, I think, in general reflect the opinion of most people in almost any part not only of the United States but of the world. I think it would be difficult in 1940 to get a powerful opposition to these points of the living wage—the saving wage—security against the loss of income through unemployment, old age, sickness, or accident. What is more, we don't merely talk of these things nowadays. We have embodied them in our statutes. We have them as part of the practice of a modern, complicated industrial society.

MR. BORGESE: Yes.

MR. KERWIN: Once again you are the optimist, though, Heaton. We have them in legislation. We have the Wagner Act. What are we hearing about the Wagner Act? It is attacked from all sides. It is now up in Congress for amendment. You find that large numbers of people in this country want the Wagner Act amended.

According to what the economists tell us, it isn't amendment that they want. They want to do away with the Wagner Act.[7]

MR. BORGESE: Going back to the statement, however. Can you explain to me what they mean by "living wages"? It is all right to say that the workman should have living wages, but it is very vague. If by living wages, or saving wages, we mean exclusively what is necessary to the elementary support of the workman and his family, I think at this moment there is a stampede out of Marxism. Incidentally, I never was a Marxist nor have I participated in the stampede, but I am afraid that many people are emptying the baby with the bathtub. The hope that the living standards can rise and more happiness come to this world should not be discarded.

MR. HEATON: At the same time I think we know what the concept of a living wage is now in most parts of this world; in fact, we have the living wage definitely defined in legislative policies and so on, so that I don't think we should spend very much time discussing that particular point.[8]

MR. BORGESE: Then does this statement admit strikes as a weapon of defense for the working classes?

MR. HEATON: What it pleads for is, of course, a strongly collective organization of each side.

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[7] *The National Labor Relations Act, sponsored by Senator Robert Wagner, of New York, was passed in 1935. It provides for collective bargaining of workers through "representatives of their own choosing." At present the administration of the Act by the National Labor Relations Board is being investigated by a committee of the House of Representatives under the chairmanship of Representative Howard W. Smith of Virginia.*

[8] *Official estimates of the sum of money required for a "living wage" range around $1,400. In Chicago the sum set up by the United Charities for a relief family of four (man, wife, boy, and girl) is $80 per month for a minimum of "adequacy and decency."*

MR. BORGESE: But the statement follows closely the encyclical of Pius XI, in which the fascist corporate state of Italy is praised because it has made strikes impossible.[9]

MR. KERWIN: Just a moment, Borgese! Be careful in your strong words of praise for the fascist state by Pius XI. He gave many evidences that he did not favor it fully. Now as to the matter of the question of strikes, everyone feels that we should settle our labor disputes peacefully if we possibly can. Strikes, after all, are a weapon of warfare—internal warfare—just as war is a weapon of international warfare.

MR. BORGESE: I am for peace. I am perhaps the devil's advocate, but not the devil. But in spite of that the encyclical, "Forty Years After," says quite clearly that strikes are forbidden in the corporate state of Italy. "If the contending parties cannot come to an agreement, public authority intervenes. Little reflection is required to conceive the advantages of the institution thus summarily described." It does not seem that conditions in the corporate state of Italy are very favorable to the working man.[10]

MR. HEATON: I think I would rather discuss an American situation than an Italian one on this particular point. I think the most remarkable thing of the 1930's in the United States was the rapidity with which we moved toward an acceptance of the very ideas which are embodied in the labor suggestions of the statement of the Catholic Bishops.

MR. BORGESE: But it is not the professor of Romance languages who is speaking about conditions in Italy. It is the man who

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[9] *The encyclical "Quadragesimo Anno," issued by Pius XI (Pope from 1922 to 1939) on the fortieth anniversary of the encyclical "Rerum Novarum" of Leo XIII.*

[10] *The quotation may be found in the section on "The Restoration of the True Guiding Principle of Economics," pages 28–31 of the National Catholic Welfare Conference edition of the encyclical.*

reads the documents and who says: "What are the practical examples that have been offered of the system so far?" and is quite sure that the encyclical, "Forty Years After," proposes as an example the constitution of the Italian fascist corporate state.

MR. KERWIN: In regard to strikes, remember this, Borgese: that has been proposed very often, and the prohibition of strikes is not unfamiliar in the democratic order. Necessarily, the two things —fascism and prohibition of strikes—do not go together.

MR. BORGESE: I quite agree with that.

MR. HEATON: I have lived in one of the most democratic countries in the world. I mean in Australia. There are two strong labor organizations there, and two strong employer organizations. It was possible for both sides to say: "We are strong enough to do without strikes and we accept the obligation on our part to abandon strikes and lockouts, to settle our disputes by conciliation, and failing conciliation to submit them to an arbitration court. Where you get the two sides strongly organized—as the statement of the Catholic Bishops hopes will come to be the case of America—the fear of war is far less than where the two sides are weakly organized and guerrilla warfare is likely to take the place of conciliation.

MR. BORGESE: I am for guerrilla warfare and I am not for strikes in general, but I think there must be a better way to make strikes impossible than compulsion from the state.

MR. HEATON: Yes, but a disappearance of industrial warfare is an end and not a beginning, and as organizations grow stronger, as they respect each other more, then a better peace is likely to become more close.

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The third and final part of the discussion concerns the statement of the Catholic Bishops relating to the establishment of a new social and economic system. First, guilds or vocational groups which will bind

men together in society according to their respective occupations must be re-established.[11] *Secondly, there must be a reform of morals and a profound renewal of the Christian spirit by individuals.*

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MR. HEATON: In my hotel lobby yesterday morning I met a Minnesota friend. I told him I was to be on this broadcast. "Oh," he said, "you are going to discuss guilds." I fancy that that is the part of this statement of the Bishops which will interest most widely and perhaps seem most revolutionary to the American public.

MR. BORGESE: It is reactionary.

MR. KERWIN: I don't think the term "guild" can be definitely accepted as synonymous with the medieval guild. There are many forms it may take. If you want to call it free association of employees and employers the idea of guilds brings in the idea that the Bishops have in mind of a decentralized economic and political order.

MR. BORGESE: That is a kind of Protestant reform that you are introducing into the document because the encyclicals have quite clearly spoken of their return to the medieval guild. You are, of course, allowed to correct it, but it is not in the document.

MR. HEATON: Let's take the American version of it, and I would like to remind you again that in this idea for a better social order there are these two requirements: first, the reform of morals and the profound renewal by individuals of the Christian spirit. On

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[11] *As interpreted today, the word "guild" is defined as any general organization of workers or employers in any given industry. Guilds would thus correspond to present-day trade unions (on the labor side) and to employers' trade associations, except that all workers would necessarily belong to the workers' guild and all employers to the employers' guild. The guilds would have certain powers over wages, hours, prices, conditions of labor, now held exclusively by the employers, or by the government, or by workers and employers together.*

that point I suppose everybody of all religions—and reasonable people outside the churches—agree.

MR. BORGESE: Well, if our civilization is Platonic-Jewish-Christian, and we all agree on that point, it is not necessary to belong to any definite church. I think that the only danger of a movement of this kind would be to give the monopoly of charity and of justice to one particular confession, however respectable and highly praised it is.

MR. KERWIN: I do not think the Bishops wish to take a monopoly of justice and they do not wish to say that there are not natural virtues outside of the Catholic Church.

MR. BORGESE: The principle that statically belongs to the Catholic Church has been expressed very definitely by Leo XIII, and the principle that the social reform cannot be made outside of the Roman Church has also been very clearly stated in both encyclicals.[12]

MR. KERWIN: I dispute that very, very much, Borgese.

MR. HEATON: Here is the proposal at any rate: that the two things go together—moral revival and the re-establishment of the Christian spirit.

MR. BORGESE: The moral revival is necessary and everybody agrees with that. The Catholic, Protestant, Jew, Buddhist, or Free Thinker—there is no disagreement about that. That is a very good contribution of the document.

MR. KERWIN: Even Confucius say that it is necessary?

MR. BORGESE: Why not?

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[12] *This point is discussed in the sections "The Church Is Necessary" and "The Church and the Poor," in the Paulist Press edition of the encyclical.*

EACH COMPLETE SYMBOL EQUALS 100

MR. HEATON: Would you say that if you had that moral reform, then the re-establishment of some guild or vocational group is unnecessary?

MR. BORGESE: No. I would say that *a technique* is inevitable, undoubtedly, but I doubt the opportunity of a return to the vocational groups as they were, or approximately as they were, in the Middle Ages. It is as if somebody complained about the confusion of traffic in our modern cities and proposed the return to the horse and buggy.

I would like to ask a particular question. Is the Catholic Church against or in favor of the CIO? Is the Catholic Church in favor—if

the guilds are re-established—of the passage of a workman from one guild to another? Could a cobbler make new shoes?

MR. HEATON: Let's try to get some picture in our minds of what is meant by these guilds. I assume, from reading the statement, that out of the existing organizations of employers and of employees would emerge something rather wider—a guild of employers and a guild of employees; that these two guilds would cooperate in considering the problems, say, in the boot industry or the building industry; that they would get together and work out the needs of the industry, the conditions under which employment would be carried out.

MR. BORGESE: How would they differ, these guilds, from the CIO and the AF of L, except in professional spirit? Technically, how would they differ?

MR. KERWIN: The Catholic Church is glad to see any steps taken in the direction of this type of organization. They look with favor, without doubt, on such organizations.

MR. BORGESE: As a matter of fact, Pius XI has said that modern socialism had already stepped far enough to have aims coinciding with the aims of Christianity. Then he discarded the collaboration of socialism. Now I think that society is in too bad a plight to discard any collaboration on theological and confessional grounds. Just as I do not like to discard the collaboration of the Catholic Church, I think that also the collaboration of socialism should not be discarded.

MR. KERWIN: The Catholic Church, of course, discards the collaboration of the socialist conditions in Europe, as you understand, because of the ends those particular organizations serve.

MR. BORGESE: The Church is a world institution. It was the position of, and this statement affirms that it follows closely, the

encyclical, "Forty Years After," in which the excommunication of socialism is quite clear.[13]

MR. HEATON: Can a poor historian interrupt this violent discussion of you two?

MR. BORGESE: It is not violent.

MR. HEATON: Oh, no, not at all! Of course, to me the impression is that we are now asked to re-establish something. I would think that the main justification for the re-establishment of something that once existed and has now disappeared is that it had been a great success in the past. As a historian, I think we have romanticized the guild enormously.

MR. BORGESE: It is the movement of economic romanticism.

MR. KERWIN: That in itself does not condemn it.

MR. BORGESE: Anything that is a return. . . . .

MR. KERWIN: Anything that is a return is objectionable? I see. Well, one might argue that, too.

MR. HEATON: I wish I could say that the guilds in the past had been so successful in, for instance, removing class warfare, which is to be one of their main functions. I wish I could feel that they had done that so well in the past and had been so able to adapt themselves to changes and economies and ideas and opportunities that we could welcome them today.

MR. BORGESE: I also would ask Kerwin, if I were the Charlie Chaplin of modern times, what would be for me the usefulness of being in the guild of the screw tighteners.

MR. KERWIN: I don't know about the guild of the screw

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[13] *In his encyclical "Quadragesimo Anno" Pius XI, in discussing Socialism and the Church, wrote: "No one can be at the same time a sincere Catholic and a true Socialist."*

tighteners, but certainly it is true that in your guild system you are not going to go back completely to the Middle Ages. Keep that in mind. There is no suggestion that you go back completely to the Middle Ages, nor is a blueprint afforded you as to what these guilds would be. After all, something is left to the intelligence of the laymen to work out. Now I know a few years ago—back about the 1920's—when many political scientists favored this very guild system (some still do), they talked about the organization of employers.[14]

MR. BORGESE: They were not necessarily Catholic.

MR. KERWIN: That's all right. It doesn't make any difference, of course. They talked about this organization and their representation in the guild parliament.

MR. BORGESE: That is an excellent point. It is important.

MR. KERWIN: Then keep in mind, Borgese, this second point of the Pope's and also of the Bishops'. They are proposing this to decentralize both political and economic authority.

MR. BORGESE: That does not seem clear . . . .

MR. KERWIN: It does not seem clear?

MR. BORGESE: . . . . because the state is interested with the main decisions. That is to say, the guild would have all of the lesser decisions to make, and the principle of the statement that so many other authorities and individuals propose the guild system is important because, as I say, there cannot be any progress without the collaboration between owners or managers and workingmen. So I think there cannot be any progress if there is not collaboration among all good men of good thought to whatever religion and to whatever class they belong.

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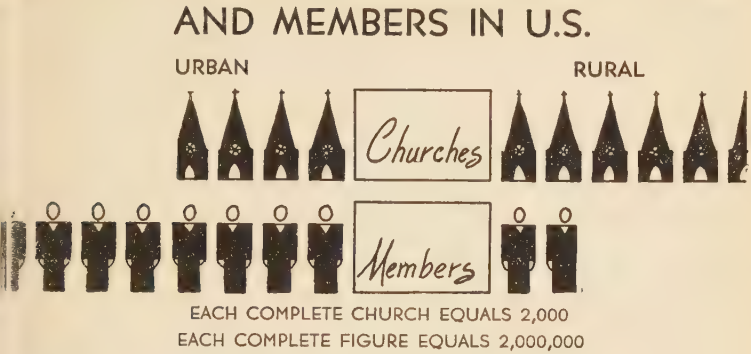
[14] *Under the leadership of such men as G. D. H. Cole, well-known British author.*



MR. KERWIN: Oh, granted, yes!

MR. HEATON: I suppose really behind it all is the feeling that the liberal enterprise of the nineteenth century—in which each man was to take care of himself, and the devil, as the official receiver, was to take care of the hindmost—has proved itself so full of faults, defects, and shortcomings that we are trying to find in moral and economic unity and solidarity something which will relieve us of the suffering, say, of the past ten years.[15]

MR. BORGESE: There, too, is the problem of the bathtub and the baby. We must recognize that liberalism in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century had many failures and shortcomings. But I do not read with pleasure the phrases of the encyclical of

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[15] *Writing in "Quadragesimo Anno," Pius XI stated: "He [Leo XIII] sought help from neither Liberalism nor Socialism. The former had already [that is, by 1891, the date of the encyclical] shown its utter impotence to find a right solution of the social question, while the latter would have exposed human society to still graver danger by offering a remedy much more disastrous than the evil it designed to cure." This rejection of laissez faire and of Marxism is, of course, one of the major theses of the Bishops' statement.*

Pius XI saying that he sought help neither from liberalism nor socialism. "The former liberalism had already shown its utter impotence to find the right solution to the social question." I prefer to have a reform of liberalism rather than the scuttling of liberalism altogether.

MR. KERWIN: The economist and political scientist would agree pretty much with the Pope as to the necessity for reforming such liberalism as existed in the nineteenth century. John Stuart Mill—one of them—tried to do it, himself.

MR HEATON: You remind me of a famous definition of bimetallism. Bimetallism was once defined as a worse cure of a bad disease, and I think we feel that perhaps that might be the story of the guild.

I don't know whether I can sum up—we could go on another hour—but let me feel out what we have decided. We seem to agree, I think, that the statement of the Catholic Bishops is an important document; that it has raised far more questions than we could discuss here, much less answer. I suppose there would be general agreement here and outside on the need for moral reform, for a renewal of the Christian spirit, and social and moral unity among the members of human society. We seem to be agreed on much of the Bishops' insistence on the obligations which private property has to shoulder: on the call for a living wage, on provision against loss of income, and all those other technical things. We really seem to be from Missouri—at any rate two of us seem to be from Missouri—so far as the proposals for organization of the guild are concerned.

SUGGESTED READINGS

"The Church and Social Order," *a statement by the Archbishops and Bishops of the Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference.* Issued February 7, 1940, and published by the Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C., and by the Paulist Press, New York City.

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CLANCY, MATTHEW, S.T.D., *"The Sound Old Guilds."* New York: Paulist Press, 1939. *A pamphlet expanding and developing the guild idea, historically and in terms of contemporary issues.*

MARX, WALTER JOHN, "Guilds and Labor Unions," *Commonweal,* February 23, 1940. *A critical approach to corporatism, with some suggestions as to the difficulties of applying the medieval guild system to our modern, complex industrial mode of life.*

SELDES, GEORGE, *"The Catholic Crisis."* New York: Julian Messner, 1939. *A critical volume contending that the Catholic Church today must decide between reaction and progress—its subservience to fascism or its continued independent existence.*

"Rerum Novarum," *the historical encyclical on Catholic socio-economic policy issued in 1891 by Pope Leo XIII.* New York: Paulist Press.

"Quadragesimo Anno," *the encyclical letter of Pope Pius XI issued on the fortieth anniversary of "Rerum Novarum."* Washington: National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1936.

KERWIN, JEROME G., *Making Democracy Work.* New York: Paulist Press, 1939. *An essay on the coordination of Catholic thought, social justice, and democratic principles.*

OBJECTIVE QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION

The answers to the following questions may be found in the text of the broadcast, and page references are provided to assist in locating the answers.

*

1. Summarize the declarations of the statement of the Catholic Bishops on property and ownership. Page 2.

2. Upon what basis is property sanctified? Page 4.

3. What city regulations are cited as examples of property owners' lack of concern for social responsibility? Pages 5–6.

4. Name two of the non-Catholic authorities cited as proponents of the idea of social responsibility. Page 6.

5. Summarize the attitude of the Bishops to labor and to wages. Page 7.

6. List two kinds of security mentioned in the report which, it is suggested, are a "part of the practice of a modern, complicated industrial society." Page 9.

7. What is the status of a strike in a totalitarian state (such as Italy)? Pages 10–11.

8. In what democratic state has this status been accepted? Page 12.

9. List the two essentials the statement of the Bishops mentions as necessary to the establishment of a new social and economic system. Pages 12–13.

10. Why has the Church not been willing to cooperate with such groups as the socialists in the furtherance of mutual aims? Pages 16–17.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The following questions of wider scope, intended for discussion, are suggested by the broadcast, and answers may be found in the literature on the subject listed in the section "Suggested Readings," found on pages 21f.

*

1. Summarize the general impressions you received of the Bishops' statement and your reactions to it.

2. Discuss the idea of a "living wage." In your opinion what would such a wage provide in terms of:

a) Food
b) Clothing
c) Housing
d) Recreation
e) Education

How much money do you believe such a "living wage" would be to a worker in your community?

3. Consider any particular industry with which you are familiar and make up a chart showing how guild organizations of workers on the one side and employers on the other would be set up. Then compare this chart with the existing situation in this industry.

a) How would complete guild organization of workers compare with the present trade union organization?
b) How would guild organization of employers compare with present trade association or other forms of employer organization?

c) Do you think a complete guild system of organization would bring better industrial relations than those now existing?

d) Do you think a guild system would increase production, raise wages, lower prices, or otherwise affect industry?

4. It has been suggested that Italy is today the most developed corporative state employing in its economic system many of the features of a guild economy. From this do you deduce that a guild system must necessarily be accompanied by a political dictatorship? If not, how do you think a guild organization might be established in a democracy?

5. Do you agree that a "reform of morals and a profound renewal of the Christian spirit" will aid in economic recovery? Discuss.

The Listeners' Round Table . . . .

Letters to the ROUND TABLE *frequently contain sidelights on the subject matter discussed on the air. These comments are from letters received following the broadcast March 24, "Can We Protect America?"*

*

"Good People"

I thoroughly agree with Major Eliot that our foreign policy should be based on self-interest; but what is self-interest? There's the rub. Self-interest in my judgment consists in minding our own business and keeping our powder dry. It certainly doesn't consist in running about the world imposing the "four freedoms" willy-nilly.

"Good people" can do a tremendous amount of harm in the world. If we get into trouble it won't be because of the hard-boiled machinations of realists; but because of the "idealism" of our "good people." If we are to have a foreign policy, let's have one in realistic terms; not in the words of the "good people." Let's agree on how much of the world we can bite off, and tell the rest of the world that we are going to chew that. Let's limit our chewing, however, to what we can bite off easily.

I do not think Col. Knox is one of the "good people"; but I think he uses "good words" for their psychological effect. I think I could agree with him if he had the courage to use language which really represented his thinking.

It is very dangerous for this country to identify its interests with those of any power or group of powers. At times, we have benefited from the wars of Europe. We ought to keep in mind how we got the Louisiana Purchase and Florida. It may be that as a result of this war all European control of this hemisphere can be eliminated. Certainly this would be a good thing in the long run.

H. H. S., Oregon

*

Polemics

Of the countless ROUND TABLE discussions which I have been pleased to listen to, I am sure that none has been so deserving of criticism as the one aired on Sunday, March 24.

Without doubt, no men could have been better qualified on the subject than those who were present. It may well be remarked that no similar broadcast was quite so bitterly polemic, and that the effective (if not intentional) collusion I noted between the men with military titles, was, in combination, enough to overwhelm, over and over again, the inescapably important facts or analogies propounded by the third participant, the professor.

With due respect to the knowledge

of these recognized military authorities, such as Major Eliot, I was impressed unfavorably by their dogmatical and peremptory statements, and their unduly refractory attitude in refusing to debate the professor's observations and points, dismissing what they did not approve as irrelevant, or purely technical.

D. M. P., Illinois

*

Pot and Kettle

The arguments for the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine and the preparedness of our country are much more violent than the underlying motives of the actions of the Soviet Union are. Finland's hostile attitude —with Mannerheim as an arch enemy of the Soviets at the head of that state—should be ample justification for the Soviets to make their borders secure during a time so sizzling with unrest right at their doors. It is altogether not understandable that men like these can condemn the actions of the Soviets.

Nor are we justified to show moral indignation at the Soviets in the light of our own actions in the recent past, not to say anything about the plans of these gentlemen with regard to seizure of English, French, and Dutch possessions in the Caribbean.

In 1916, if my information is correct, our Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing, asked Denmark to sell us the Virgin Islands, and when they were unwilling he followed up the request with the statement that we would have to take possession anyway whether they wanted to sell or not. I shall not elaborate on the seizure of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, or California from Mexico, but with those facts in mind, how can we condemn the European nations if they are doing the same thing we would do for our own defense.

D. N., California

*

Clear Ideas

I think Mr. Knox knew what he was talking about and had his subject well in hand relative to war preparedness and when and where to place the forces of the United States to defend our shores and territory when needed.

Also he had clear ideas of the method of taking over the islands in the seas adjacent to the Panama Canal in order to strengthen our position.

Also he presented very clearly our attitude toward the South American countries as to their duties to keep the Western Hemisphere from being overrun by the powers of the other half of the world.

I was glad to hear from him and Major Eliot of the Army as to the proper number of soliders needed for active duty when *not* at war and his idea of having a continued reserve of the several states and the National Guard constantly training so as to have an adequate force when the need for it comes.

W. H. B., California

No Parallel

Any apparent resemblance between our Monroe Doctrine and Japan's present policy in China is superficial only, and to give a different opinion might be dangerous. Japan has broken faith with all the signers of the nine-power pact. Moreover, her interest in China is not in her own defense but the subjugation and exploitation of China by an unprovoked aggression in which the most inhuman means are used deliberately to bring a great people to their knees. Japan had, moreover, the opportunity of winning China's co-operation economically and politically, merely by showing China that Japan was friendly and could be trusted, for China would not have been averse to a doctrine of Asia for the Asiatics. Now, however, she fears no white nation as she fears Japan.

L. C. D., Missouri

Compliment

I must tell you [Mr. Krueger] that your views in the talk with Colonel Knox and Major George Fielding Eliot were A-1.

By the common sense of your ideas and the clarity of your thought you knocked 'em out—quite completely.

George Eliot is generally pretty sound. However, he is more and more on the side of big navy and big army. It may be that he is unconsciously influenced by the Army Staff and the Navy Staff at Washington. Because I take it George must keep close contact with these men in order to be in a position to get the latest information.

More often does Eliot now haul out the grand war horse that the way to defend is to attack; more frequently he calls on the shades of the sainted Mahan—and so on.

I compliment you.

A Retired Major General

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96. *Is Our War News Accurate?*
97. *The Far East—Backdoor War?*
98. *The Jews*
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102. *War Myths*
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104. *Is America's Economic Frontier Closed?*
105. *Must the World Unite?*
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107. *The Census.* March 31

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Allentown, Pa.	WSAN	1440	Lakeland, Fla.	WLAK	1310
Asheville, N.C.	WISE	570	Miami, Fla.	WIOD	610
Baltimore, Md.	WFBR	1270	New York, N.Y.	WEAF	660
Boston, Mass.	WNAC	1230	Philadelphia, Pa.	KYW	1020
Buffalo, N.Y.	WBEN	900	Portland, Me.	WCSH	940
Charlotte, N.C.	WSOC	1210	Providence, R.I.	WJAR	890
Charleston, S.C.	WCSC	1360	Raleigh, N.C.	WPTF	680
Cincinnati, Ohio	WSAI	1330	Richmond, Va.	WMBG	1350
Cleveland, Ohio	WTAM	1070	Rochester, N.Y.	WHAM	1150
Columbia, S.C.	WIS	560	St. Petersburg, Fla.	WSUN	620
Columbus, Ohio	WCOL	1210	Schenectady, N.Y.	WGY	790
Detroit, Mich.	WWJ	920	Tampa, Fla.	WFLA	620
Grand Rapids, Mich.	WOOD	1270	Washington, D.C.	WRC	950
Greenville, S.C.	WFBC	1300	Wilmington, Del.	WDEL	1120
Jacksonville, Fla.	WJAX	900	Worcester, Mass.	WTAG	580
Johnstown, Pa.	WJAC	1370	Zanesville, Ohio	WHIZ	1210

1:30 P.M. CENTRAL STANDARD TIME

Amarillo, Tex.	KGNC	1410	Milwaukee, Wis.	WTMJ	620
Birmingham, Ala.	WBRC	930	Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn.	KSTP	1460
Bismarck, N.D.	KFYR	550	Nashville, Tenn.	WSM	650
Chicago, Ill.	WMAQ	670	New Orleans, La.	WSMB	1320
Duluth, Minn., and Superior, Wis.	WEBC	1290	Oklahoma City, Okla.	WKY	900
El Paso, Tex.	KTSM	1310	Omaha, Neb.	WOW	590
Evansville, Ind.	WGBF	630	Pittsburg, Kans.	KOAM	790
Fargo, N.D.	WDAY	940	St. Cloud, Minn.	KFAM	1420
Jackson, Miss.	WJDX	1270	St. Louis, Mo.	KSD	550
Kansas City, Mo.	WDAF	610	San Antonio, Tex.	WOAI	1190
Little Rock, Ark.	KARK	890	Shreveport, La.	KTBS	1450
Louisville, Ky.	WAVE	940	Terre Haute, Ind.	WBOW	1310
Madison, Wis.	WIBA	1280	Wichita, Kans.	KANS	1210
Mankato, Minn.	KYSM	1500			

12:30 P.M. MOUNTAIN STANDARD TIME

Albuquerque, N.M.	KOB	1180	Phoenix, Ariz.	KTAR	620
Billings, Mont.	KGHL	780	Pocatello, Ida.	KSEI	900
Boise, Ida.	KIDO	1350	Pueblo, Colo.	KGHF	1320
Butte, Mont.	KGIR	1340	Salt Lake City, Utah	KDYL	1290
Denver, Colo.	KOA	830	Tucson, Ariz.	KVOA	1260
Helena, Montana	KPFA	1210	Twin Falls, Ida.	KTFI	1240

11:30 A.M. PACIFIC STANDARD TIME

Bakersfield, Cal.	KERN	1370	San Diego, Cal.	KFSD	600
Fresno, Cal.	KMJ	580	San Francisco, Cal.	KPO	680
Los Angeles, Cal.	KFI	640	Seattle, Wash.	KOMO	920
Portland, Ore.	KGW	620	Spokane, Wash.	KHQ	590
Sacramento, Cal.	KFBK	1490	Stockton, Cal.	KWG	1200

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